Finally, we MUST

128 explain that in rendering the plural of native words, we
[93] have not employed the terminal "-s" that makes the plural in English, for in this regard we have followed the usage of Saramacca tongo.

A

● 104 **a**, he, she.

Abisa, an important female ancestor. The name may be a modification of *Abena*, a woman's Tuesday name (see under *Afi*). In one village on the Saramacca, a dance known only there, called the *bisia*, is said to have been taught by a female ancestor during the "running away time." This fact may have bearing on its origin, as it may point to an ancestor who had come from the Benin (Nigerian) kingdom. The people of Benin are known as the *Bini*.

akowa, boa constrictor.

adieri, goodbye. From the Portuguese.

adji-bote, a game of counters. This is played in Suriname as it is in the Caribbean, and in Africa. *Adji* is a Dahomean word. In Paramaribo, among the Aukan Bush Negroes, and in the Caribbean, the Ashanti name for the game, *wari*, is employed.

Afi, "day name" for a girl born on Friday. The corresponding Friday name for a boy is *Kofi*. These day names are found in bush and town in Suriname. They are met with in Jamaica and names like *Kofi* (Cuffy), *Kwabo* (Quacoe), *Kwasi* (Quashi), are known in the United States. These day names exist among the peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa, where they are definitely associated with the soul, in the same manner as they are in Suriname.

Afi'ka, Africa. This is the Saramacca pronunciation of the word. While known on the river, it is less used than the expression *neng'e konde*, literally, "Negro kingdom." The word *konde* is used interchangeably for kingdom and village. The word *tu*, for example, in Dahomey, is used in the same way.

Afoteketa, a Saramacca goddess, whose origin is Dahomean. In Dahomey her genealogy differs from the one given in Suriname. Dahomeans say she is the daughter of *Aghe* and *Nanie*, gods of the sea.

agida, the great drum of the Saramacca trio of drum types. In Paramaribo, when the earth spirits are called, a spirit named *Agida* is invoked as one of the earth pantheon.

ago, ancestors. It is said in Dahomey that among the ancient inhabitants this Saramacca meaning was known.

agoro, name given a child born feet foremost. The same name is given such children in Dahomey and in Haiti.

Ahuntamaru, the god of the ant hill. A Gold Coast name.

akra, see *kra*.

anbe, an exclamation said to be a contraction of the phrase "by my mother's womb."

Anansi, name of Dahomean derivation.

Anansi, spider. *Anansi* is the trickster in the cycle of stories which bear his name. The *Anansi* stories on the Gold Coast and in the New World are like the Br'er Rabbit stories in the United States. In the New World, aside from

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR3 Bush Negroes SR3
Saramacca

104

Dutch Guiana, *Anansi* appears as the dominant trickster in Negro tales in Jamaica, and even in the stories of this country we occasionally hear of Miss Nancy.

anda, an exclamation. *Anda* is thought to be a famous ancestor. One of the strong warrior *obias* on the river is called the "hunter *anda*."

apinti, name of the Bush Negro tenor drum. The same name for this drum is found in western Nigeria and Dahomey; among the Gold Coast peoples the term is *mpintin*.

Apuku, gods of the bush, who are visualized as little people. Whenever natural clearings appear in the jungle they are said to have been made by these *Apuku* gods. In southern Nigeria and Dahomey children who die young are called *Abiku*. They are said to be the messengers of the great gods who send them to earth and recall them. In Jamaica there is a cult whose members are called *Pukumeriaus*, but not enough is known of Jamaican worship to be able to determine whether this cult is exactly comparable to the *Apuku* cult in Suriname.

Asaasi, the Earth Mother. The earth deity has the identical name among the Ashanti.

awa, affirmative exclamation.

awasa, Saramacca dance. In Ashanti this dance is known under the name *awisa*.

Awka, name for another tribe of Suriname Negroes. In southern Nigeria there is a group of Ibo-speaking people known as the *Awka* people, and a village not far from Ife called Awka.

aya, you.

ayeng, a "spiritual barrier" of palm fronds erected across a path in order to brush away evil that might be seeking to enter the village. The word is Dahomean. The *ayeng* is today only infrequently seen in the larger Dahomean centers, but when an epidemic comes, whether it is measles or influenza or whooping cough or the dreaded smallpox, these are put in place.

anoke nyenye, firefly; the Dahomean word is *anyke nyenye*.

B

bal'a, *bakra*, *bakara*, white man. This is the same as the "buckra" of the Carolina Negroes.

bal'a mayo, white woman. See also *mayo*.

bal'a tani, literally "white man's thing." Idiomatically, anything which is outside the civilization of the Saramacca people. Thus an hibiscus tree on the lower river was called a "white man's thing." This term was also applied to our flashlight before it had been christened "diamond fire"; to our phonograph; to our ideas; to our medicine. We have heard the same distinction made in West Africa between the white man's things and those that appertained to the blacks.

bandamba, dance for twins and marriage. It is known and danced in Africa on the Gold Coast.

banya, a dance. It is found in both bush and town, and the *bakafuta banya* (cross-legged banya) is associated with dancing for the ancestors. The dance is known on the Gold Coast.

bassia, the second in command to a chief. In the town this word is used to name an overseer. The word is also employed in Jamaica.

104 *beye*, to dance. From the Portuguese. See also *bele*.
Fobo dei, daybreak.
boukoo, the Paramaribo word for albino. The Saramacca people say "Toni person."
bote, boat.
beye, in the song we quote, this word refers to the Earth spirits. When the Ashanti call on *Asaase Ya*, the Earth Mother, they also speak of the creatures of the underworld as *Asaase Bowa*.
bungulo, half of a broken canoe on which a corpse lies until the coffin is completed.

C

chaka, literally, shake. The meaning is extended to designate the type of dancing which accentuates the shaking of the buttocks.

D

dede, dead, death.
Dera, name given a child born next after twins. This same name is given such a child in Dahomey and Haiti.
Djuka, a member of the Awka tribe of Negroes. In the city of Paramaribo and elsewhere in the coastal region this word is used loosely to refer to all Bush Negroes, whatever their tribal affiliations. No exhaustive study has been made of the Awka tribe, but what material there is suggests a predominating African culture from Southern Nigeria.
Dyombi, name of a god. In Suriname this deity, who is associated with the silk-cotton tree, is thought of as the child of *Gedeoun* and *Tiusi* (*q.v.*), and is dreaded by the natives. He is said in Dahomey, where he is also worshipped, to dance with the thunder pantheon. In Dahomean folklore the *Dyombi* are associated with hunters who conquered the mythical thirty-horned giants. The name is well known to New World Negroes and has come to be associated with ghosts. It occurs in the Caribbean interchangeably with *zombi* and *duppy*.

F

fo-fo, as explained in the text. It is an old Dahomean term meaning "anger." The word has also been reported as being in use by the Bantu-speaking peoples of Loango as a name for a medicinal herb.

G

g'a, literally "great." It has been assumed that this word is derived from the Portuguese "gran," but the derivation is probably a dual one, since the Ewe (Togoland) word *ga* signifies "great, old," and in Dahomey *ga* means "chief, elder, head of an organization."
g'aman, chief, headman. It is also the Saramacca term for the Dutch Governor of the Colony.
g'a zumbi, "big" person, *i.e.*, important person. See *zumbi*.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

GLOSSARY AND LINGUISTIC NOTES

ẽ's tangi, literally "great thanks," but idiomatically "please," or "I beg you." See *tangi*. 104

G'a Zumbi, ghost. See *Dyombi*.

G'a Yorka, ghost. See *Yorka*.

ghala, expression of affirmation. Used as interpolation in narrative, and in council meetings.

Gedovaru, name of a god who lives in the silk-cotton tree. In Dahomey the word is a "strong name" for the same tree. The ancient people on the plateau of Abomey, the present capitol of Dahomey, were the *Gedevi*, and there is a legend in Dahomey which says that there were once two brothers, one *Gede*, one *Hwaru*. They quarreled and one turned into a stone and became the god animating the great *Gede* rock in Dahomey. The other entered the silk-cotton tree. When our informants in Dahomey heard that in Suriname they worshipped *Gedovaru*, they exclaimed, "You not only have Dahomeans there, you have people from right here in Abomey."

gomi, a citizen. Literally "child of the earth," *i.e.*, a person who belongs to the village where he is living. *Mi* is the Yoruban word for "child."

gozzi, doll. This word has the same meaning in Dahomey.

H

ha'i, *hali*, haul.

hebi, heavy. Also used in the sense of "hard," as in *a haya hebi*, "he danced hard."

Hena Tonaghwe, said to be a "strong name" for the deity called the "Mother of the River." *Hena* is Ashanti for chief. Whether *Tonaghwe* refers to the sacred lake Nohwe, in Dahomey, or not, is difficult to say.

hohobi, twins. The word is from Dahomey, the modern Dahomean pronunciation being *hohovi*.

I

Ingi, Indian.

K

kambosa, "the other wife of my husband." In its larger meaning, it signifies "the woman who makes trouble for me."

kamumba, cicatrizations made on the faces and bodies of men and women.

kandu, a "spiritual lock" found over doorways, on fruit-bearing trees, and in fields to keep off thieves by means of its magic power. It is of Bantu origin.

kankani'i, cotton tree. An old Dahomean word for this tree is *gengenti*. See *t'i*.

Kediamo, the Sky God. This is one of his "strong names." He is also known as *Nyankompon* and *Kediampon*. These names are employed today in the Gold Coast for the same deity, the latter pronounced there *Twediampon*.

Krutina dagowe, the name of one of the snake deities. *Dagowe* is Surinamese for the Dahomean and Haitian *Dangbe*. The snake *Dangbe* is considered the founder of one of the Dahomean families.

kere-kere, expression of affirmation used to interpolate in council meetings and when listening to a long narrative. Also pronounced *krde*, and *krlele*. These interpolations punctuate all pauses in speech, and the rhythm and inflection

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

● 104 is analogous to the interpolations, "Oh, Lord," "Glory," "Yes, Lord," "Hallelujah," and "Too true," used in Negro churches in this country. These interpolations occur in speech and ceremonies in West Africa, particularly on the Gold Coast.

kerki, church. From the Dutch.

Kesekia, a snake deity. In Togoland this god is known as the wife of one of the sky gods.

keskesi, monkey.

kodjo, cudgel.

koda, expression of affirmation. It is employed as an interpolation in narrative, and in proceedings at council meetings.

komfo, a person possessed by the spirit of an African diviner. In this sense the word is used in both bush and town. It is of Ashanti-Fanti origin.

kuti-go, cut across.

'kra, soul. This word is that of the Gold Coast, a contraction of *okra*. Saramacca people also drop the "r" and say *ak'a*.

104 595 789 *Kromanti*, the name of a category of amulets which help the fighter, and also, we have strong reason to believe, of a male secret society. The former is known as *Kromanti obia*. The word can be most easily traced to the small kingdom of Coromantyne on the Gold Coast of Africa and to the slave factories in the coastal cities of Little and Great Coromantyne. The origin is often traced also to the Ashanti oath of this name, commemorating a battle in which the Ashanti King Osai Tutu was killed. Everywhere in the New World the Coromantyne Negroes were known as intractable, and it is claimed that they were the instigators of most of the slave rebellions in the New World, especially Jamaica and in the United States. In the Saramacca bush the rôle of the *Kromanti* group is in all respects akin to that of the Asafotche companies on the Gold Coast today. In both instances they are companies of young men—in more ancient times, warriors. In both instances they have magic to help them in war. In both instances this magic includes powers which endow the members with resistance to bullets, and to all things that cut or lacerate, like knives and thorns and glass. In both instances the power comes from the enshrining of magic, in Suriname called *obia*, and on the Gold Coast called *suman*. In some of the old Asafotche songs sung on the Gold Coast the word *Kromanti* appears. The opening of all Asafotche songs with "fire, fire," a euphemism for calling the alarm to indicate the need for all members to gather, is heard in the *Kromanti* songs. The role of the young men of punishing for trespassing against clan or village property, and of watching over the chief's rule, exists in the Saramacca country as it exists on the Gold Coast.

kruta, council, counsel. The Saramacca pronunciation is *k'uta; kruta wosu*, council house.

104 *kuma*, a formal greeting. It is used especially in the Granman's village. The entire interchange when two people of the Saramacca tribe meet follows the West African pattern.

kuna, a supernatural force controlled by the ancestors and gods, which punishes with extinction the families of those who violate the laws of the ancestors. It would seem to be derived from the Ewe (Togoland) word *kuna*, "death."

kuti-kuti, no, no. A ceremonial interpolation used in council.

kyo, exclamation of surprise and entreaty. Sometimes pronounced *ky* and sometimes *tyo*. This phonetic shift occurs in Negro speech everywhere in the New

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

GLOSSARY AND LINGUISTIC NOTES

World, as, for example, the Southern "cyah" and "cyarriage" for "car" and "carriage" or "gyahden" for "garden." 109

L

Lomi, name of a Bush Negro village. Probably derived from the city of Lome in Togoland.

lanti, government.

liba, moon. The term is also extended to mean "crescential," as in *liba-bangi*, a crescential stool. See also under *wowo*. In taki-taki *liba* means river. Saramacca for river is *ia*, from the Portuguese.

lo, clan. *Hlo* is the Ewe (Togoland) equivalent.

loko, a sacred tree. It is called by the identical term in Dahomey and Togoland, where it is also held in reverence. The Yoruba, who have the same attitude toward it, call it *iroko*.

M

Mamadam, the great falls of the Saramacca. There the "Mother of the River" is said to live. It is difficult to determine the exact African parallel for this. An important sacred lake in Dahomey is called *Nohue*—"house of our mother." The word *dan* in Ashanti means "room" and *mama* has our own connotation. In Ashanti a tributary of the sacred *Tano* river is called *Abirewa* meaning "old woman."

man, pronounced West Indian Negro fashion, "mahn." The meaning is the same as in English.

massa, master. This word is pronounced in the Suriname bush as it is in the South and in the English-speaking colonies in Africa and has the same meaning. The pronunciation of the Coastal Negroes is *massra*.

matapi, cassava press. The word comes from the indigenous Indians.

mbo, "extended family," descendants through the mother's line not too distantly related.

meyo, woman. The derivation is the Portuguese *mulher*.

N

nana, grandfathers, ancestors. The word is Ashanti.

nebu, a poisonous vine used to kill the fish in the creeks.

neng'e (*nengre*), this word means "Negro" in Suriname; the first pronunciation given is that of the bush and the second of the coastal region. In the Saramacca country the word *neng'e* is used interchangeably with the word *lo*, meaning clan, and has the further meaning of people. Thus, a man would be spoken of as belonging either to the *Popoto Lo* or being a *Popoto Neng'e*. It has been claimed that this word is a Negro modification of the Portuguese word signifying "black." However, in Dahomey one of the gods of the earth pantheon is called *Sunu Nenge* and he is visualized as being the black vulture. In recent times, though, the Dahomeans have learned to be ashamed of the word *nenge*, which they have come to identify with the French *negre*, for it is said that Dahomeans who have gone to France as soldiers have come to know it as a term of derision. Hence they prefer the French *noir*. In Dahomey the forgers speak of a small piece of black iron as *nenge*, and once when our

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

● 104

cook was taken unaware, and wished to express his surprise at the excellence of a game board which was modeled in such a way that the base of the board was held up by six small human figures, his exclamation was "*Grags nengé!*" This is a term of affection for a small child, a term which had apparently fallen into bad repute in recent times because of those who had come to know the European association. These examples would seem to indicate African as well as European sources for the word "Negro." See also *opete*, *yankí'o*.

neng'e bondo, Africa. *Cf. Af'ica.*

neng'e Nana, African ancestors.

man neng'e, literally, "male Negro," but idiomatic for an adult man who has power in his community, a man who has proved himself as a full-fledged member of his group. It is a term of pride. *Cf. man.*

Nyankompon, name used by the Saramacca people for the Sky God. This is the Gold Coast name of the same deity.

O

obia, a supernatural force which comes from the great gods and was given to man to protect and heal him. *Obia* is also the term used for the charms which derive their power from this force. In the British West Indies the term is spelled *obeah* and is understood by whites to denote black magic.

obia cuts. The healing magic inherent in *obia* may be given a man either by letting medicine enter his body through cuts made, or by putting this medicine inside red or blue or white cotton or inside a cowrie shell or a piece of wood or string which he wears as a charm.

obia man, a man who practices *obia*. Such a man would be a maker of charms, and would have the knowledge to control and invoke the personal force to make effective whatever object he wished to endow with magic powers.

odi, Saramacca greeting. This may be related to the Southern Negro "howdy."

ogi, evil. It must be noted that the word in many instances as used by Negro peoples in Africa and the New World has not the connotation that the word "evil" has in our language. The expression "*ogi s'yepi*" means "evil itself," and is often used affectionately to designate someone who has outwitted another. The Negroes who speak French in Africa use the word *malin* in the same sense, and the English-speaking Africans use the words "too bad" or "bad too much." This use of "too bad" has persisted in American Negro speech.

okai, go, turn.

okai no ma, keep on going, turning.

opete, vulture, buzzard. An Ashanti word. See also *neng'e*, *yankí'o*.

opo, amulet which gives the owner power over the will of another.

Oyo, a word used by an important captain on the river to impress us with his rank. *Oyo* is the name for one of the Yoruban stocks. A legend in Dahomey credits the *Oyo*, their traditional enemies, with being the first rulers of the earth.

P

pangi, woman's cloth. This is usually a strip about a yard wide and a yard and a half long, worn so that it reaches from the waist to the knee and encircles the lower part of the body. The word is derived from the French *pagne*.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

GLOSSARY AND LINGUISTIC NOTES

pemba, white clay. This word is Bantu, coming from the region of the lower Congo. 104

pina koosu, hairdressing style.

pinda, peanut. This is also a Bantu word.

S

safri, softly; idiomatic for handling a situation delicately.

sekiti, a social dance. It is known in Ashanti but is today seldom danced there. We collected a song in the Ashanti country with the same words as that of a ***sekiti*** song sung by the Bush Negroes.

sembe, person. This is the Saramacca word; the coastal Negroes use ***suma***.

Sofa Bada, name of a god. In Dahomey this would mean Thunder King ***Bada***, and there ***Bada*** is the youngest son of the thunder pantheon and the most cruel one.

sula, rapids. *Su* in Ashanti is water.

suma, person. An Ashanti word. *Cf.* ***sembe***.

suza, a boy's dance. It is often danced to thank the earth gods for good harvests.

T

tangi, thanks. Also used in the form "*Tangi, tangi*" for "I beg you."

tapu, preventive against evil magic.

tata, father.

tchina, taboo. This is a Bantu word used in Loango. In Paramaribo the word for taboo is ***trefu***, borrowed from the Jewish slave-owners who came from Brazil.

te, until. This word is employed in bush and town for "till," but in idiomatic use intensifies the word it modifies. The expression *so te* is heard in story-telling in Suriname as well as in English-speaking countries in Africa.

timbe, wood carving. Probably from the English "timber."

t'i, tree. An example of double derivation, coming from the English "tree" and the Ewe–Dahomean word ***ati***, which has the same meaning. See also ***kankant'i***, *Gedeonsu*.

tia, aunt. Used as a term of respect for any older woman. From the Portuguese.

tio, uncle. Used as a term of respect for any older man. From the Portuguese.

Tinsi, a spirit which lives in the silk-cotton tree, and is the wife of Gedeonsu (*q.v.*). In Dahomey *Tinsi* is danced to in the pantheon of *Agadakoosu*, a god who personalizes the totemic origin of one of the Dahomean families.

Tosi, generic name for the river gods. Probably a Mahi (Dahomean) term. The river cult is one of the strongest cults in both Suriname town and bush. In Dahomey there is a legend that when the first kings of the last royal family conquered the plateau of Abomey, the priests of the river cult fomented rebellions against the new rulers, and were all sold into slavery. Nothing of their cult is said to be known today in Dahomey, and the old gods they worshipped are left to trouble the Dahomeans. Today there are places in Dahomey where no Dahomean dares to go. Sometimes, it is said, they hear drums beating from the river bottom, and sacrifices are given to the rivers, although the proper invocations to appease the gods are no longer known.

Tosugbosu, river goddess.

Tosusu, a snake god, also called "Papa God." Cowrie shells, which up to comparatively recent times were the currency of West Africa, are referred to

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

●10A as *papa monsi* (money) on the Saramacca River. West African folklore gives accounts of snake river gods in whose bodies are imbedded cowries.

wofu, food taboo. See *tekina*.

wuiru, indeed; true.

wuiru Saramacca, Bush Negro name for all the land above the Mamadam falls. The Saramacca Negro speaks the phrase with great pride. Whether this is associated with the achievement of the early ancestors in penetrating the bush, or is to be traceable to African distinctions of rank, it is impossible to say. Among the Awka tribe on the Marowyne River the upper river tribes consider themselves more aristocratic than those who live on the lower river.

wumpo, a "long" drum, the medium-sized drum of the Saramacca trio of drum types. It is played especially for the *Apuku* gods.

Y

yodu, name of a particular kind of snake; a term used for all sacred snakes. In Paramaribo it is known also in its fuller meaning as a generic term for all the gods, which is the sense in which it is employed in Haiti (*voodoo*) and in Dahomey. In Paramaribo they sing:

> "*We want to see the yodu in our yard,*
> *We want to see them, brother.*"

W

waka, to travel. This word is from the English "walk."

waka bon, yere?, literally, "walk well, hear?" The word "*yere*" is not only used in the same sense as in the South, but with the same inflection.

waka koni, koni means carefully or with cunning, hence, "go with care." The word *konikoni* in Surinaame means rabbit and suggests strongly a connection with Br'er Rabbit's name of "Cunny Rabbit."

wiri, black magic, poison. In Dahomey the expression "to poison a man" means as often to use black magic against him as actually to kill him by the use of poison, and this is also true of Suriname.

womi, man. This is from the Portuguese *homem*.

womi-fo-muye, man and woman. This is a term used generically for symbols of procreation which appear on carvings. *Cf. womi, muye.*

worn, house.

dede-worn, house of mourning. *Cf. dede.*

liba-worn, a house of more than one story. Few two-story houses are known in the bush, and those appear on the upper river.

Y

yakai, indeed, yes.

yanko, buzzard. In the Saramacca country it is considered one of the buzzard's "strong" names. In Jamaica and other British West Indian Islands variants of this word are associated with the name of the buzzard. The derivation usually claimed is that it is a corruption of the English "carrion crow." It is possible that the famous "John Canoe" dances can also be associated with the ancient dances to the buzzard, and this supposition is made more likely

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

104

when one hears a Jamaican pronounce this phrase. On the Gold Coast there is a play given by the women called *nyonkro* in which there are dancing and sexual extravaganza in word play, mimicry, and general ridicule. It seems quite likely that our own "Jim Crow" is derived from this term. Other pronunciations of this term are *yankoro*, *yankoma*, and *yankoso*. See also *seng'e*, *opete*.

yenko, no translation of this word was given us in Suriname; it is, however, the Yoruban for white man.

yenka, spirit of one who has died, ghost.

131

PHONETIC NOTATIONS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS IN FRENCH OF NAMES OF PLACES AND PERSONS

197 The Boni language, made up from deformed English words, presents few phonetic difficulties.

• 104 Notations. We have made use of the simplified international alphabet of the International African Institute of London (Westerman and Ward).

Vowels:

a forward a (French a of "natte").
a: long a, pronounced very far back, analogous to the one in English "half."
ã nasalized a, French an of "banc."
e French é of "périr."
ɛ French è of "grève."
ẽ nasalized e (In the Boni language there does not seem to be any central oral vowel).
ɛ̃ nasalized è, French in of "pince."
i long i, as in "île."
ɔ open o, like the one of "port."
o closed o, as in "obus."
ɔ̃ nasalized o, on of the French "bon."
u French ou of "poule."
ũ nasalized ou.

Consonants:

b, d, f, g, k, l, m, n, p, t, z are used with their ordinary value in French.
h, w, with their ordinary value in English.

/3 cont./

● 104

ŋ velar nasal (final sound of "dancing"). /4/

ny palatal nasal; French gn of "montagnard."

r liquid heard sometimes as r, sometimes as l by Europeans; it appears to be borrowed from the Amerindian languages of Guiana.

s consonant placed between French s and ch. One hears initial s before a and o, ch in other cases, but this is a single phoneme.

Transcription. Names of places and persons have been transcribed according to the rules indicated by Mr. Houis, chief of the linguistic section of IFAN. In names of places and persons, u with the value of French ou has been kept on account of the frequent gemination of this vowel (1).

1. Exception is made for recognized toponyms (names of the principal water courses and administrative posts), for which we have kept the usual French spelling.

For the consonant s defined above, s or ch has been transcribed according to its position in the word.

/21 cont./

601 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit with-
613 out any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belohging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, baala, or sister, sisa, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, tiyu, or aunts, tiya.

601 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship
602 centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be
613 called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know
[814] that N... is their brother and M..., their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed.

602 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the
613 unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten
614 and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3 (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Baïna brother, Afanis uncle, and Sota nephew.

• [104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word bee (1).

[See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

688 /247 cont./
689 attenuated form of wisi; in serious cases the grand man may inflict a severe punishment on the guilty ones.

789 ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks use the word ɔbia (1) to designate

192
789
754

1. The term ɔbia is used by the Refugee Blacks when they are speaking to outsiders, to designate positive magic, but in reality this term has a very different meaning in their language. It designates any kind of magic action, negative as well as positive; likewise the term ɔbiamã has the sense of sorcerer as well as that of holder of a remedy.

192 The Boni among themselves use the word deesi, remedy, instead of ɔbia. They do not use the word deesimã in place of ɔbiamã. It is said, for example, of a man who knows the rites of a cult of possession "A sabi Papa gadu sani" (he knows the things of Papa gadu).

[787] The term gadumã designates one who is possessed of a god, and not one who knows how to bring on possession.

• 104
789
114 In the rest of this work we shall continue, nevertheless, to use the terms ɔbia and ɔbiamã to designate positive magic, in order to facilitate collation with the English- and Dutch-language authors who have used it in this sense.